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SIX STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND RUSSIA AND THE MECHANISMS FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

Abstract: Based on Marxist political economy, the paper provides a systematic analysis of the strategic directions, implementation mechanisms, and risk management system in China-Russia economic cooperation. Cooperation between China and Russia should stem from the objective needs of developing the productive forces of both countries and should be built upon six strategic directions: energy as the foundation for ensuring the sustainability of the industrial base; transport connectivity as a factor in accelerating economic turnover; financial mechanisms as a tool for maintaining monetary stability and credit security; scientific and technological cooperation as a driver of labor productivity growth; agricultural interaction as a prerequisite for strengthening food security; and the digital economy as an environment for shaping new forms of production and exchange. On this basis, the promotion of six strategic key projects is proposed. Such a strategy conforms to the objective laws of the international division of labor and naturally follows from the principle that the relations of production in both countries must correspond to the level of development of their productive forces. The paper also proposes a three-tier cooperation implementation mechanism: strategic leadership at the heads-of-state level, interdepartmental coordination at the ministerial level, and practical execution at the enterprise level. Furthermore, the necessity of a risk forecasting system and a top-level coordination mechanism is substantiated. It is emphasized that deep economic interaction between China and Russia is not only a practical response to the instability of the global capitalist system but also an important step toward shaping a more just and equitable international economic order.

Keywords: China-Russia economic cooperation; Marxist political economy; international division of labor; industrial and supply chains; economic security; regional economic cycle.

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中俄经济合作的六个战略方向及其实施机制

摘要:本文基于马克思主义政治经济学,对中国俄罗斯经济合作中的战略方向、实施机制及风险管控体系进行了系统分析。中俄合作应立足于两国生产力发展的客观需求,并围绕六个战略方向展开:能源——作为保障工业基础可持续性的根基;交通互联互通——作为加速经济周转的推动力;金融机制——作为维护货币流通稳定和信贷安全的工具;科技合作——作为提高劳动生产率的驱动力;农业合作——作为加强粮食安全的条件;数字经济——作为形成新型生产和交换方式的载体。在此基础上,建议推进六项战略性重点项目。这一战略符合国际劳动分工的客观规律,也是两国生产关系必须与生产力发展水平相适应这一原则的自然结果。文章还提出了三层级合作实施机制:国家元首层面的战略指导、部长层面的跨部门协调以及企业层面的具体落实。此外,文章还论证了建立风险预测体系和高层协调机制的必要性。文章强调,中俄深化经济合作不仅是对全球资本主义体系不稳定性的务实回应,也是构建更加公正、平等的国际经济秩序的重要环节。

关键词:中俄经济合作、马克思主义政治经济学、国际劳动分工、产业链和供应链、经济安全、区域经济周期。

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I. Introduction

From the perspective of Marxist political economy, the development of social productive forces inevitably extends beyond national and territorial boundaries, contributing to the deepening of the international division of labor and the expansion of global market. Economic interaction between countries is an objective law arising from the socialization of production and its internationalization. Currently, against the backdrop of rising unilateralism and protectionism, the vulnerability of the global financial, energy, and food systems is becoming increasingly apparent, and the shortcomings of traditional international economic regulation are becoming increasingly evident. The emerging international political landscape characterized as the “rise of the East and the decline of the West” is manifested primarily in the fact that, against the backdrop of strengthening cooperation among countries of the Global South, including China, Russia, and Iran, in countering hegemonism, the United States and Western countries are gradually losing their positions [Cheng, 2024]. As the world’s largest developing countries and permanent members of the UN Security Council, China and Russia, based on shared development interests and strategic goals, are steadily strengthening the economic foundation of their comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination in the new era. Today, trends toward unilateralism, protectionism, and hegemony are increasingly evident, and the process of economic globalization is encountering resistance. President Xi Jinping emphasized that China and Russia must jointly promote the de-

velopment of an equitable and orderly multipolar world and inclusive economic globalization, fully utilize the complementarity of their resource advantages and industrial systems, expand high-quality, mutually beneficial cooperation across all areas, resist external pressure, and ensure that the foundation of cooperation becomes stronger and the driving forces of growth become more vibrant¹. This important statement sets a strategic course for deepening comprehensive strategic coordination and developing practical economic cooperation between China and Russia in the new era.

Thanks to the complementarity of the two countries' resource portfolios, industrial structures, and market spaces, economic cooperation between China and Russia is transforming from simple trade exchanges into systemic interactions encompassing all links of the production chain, a wide range of industries, and deep levels of cooperation. During their meeting in Moscow, the two heads of state issued a "Joint Statement on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030" (hereinafter referred to as the "2030 Cooperation Plan"). The document enshrines a policy of "firmly adhering to the principles of mutual respect and mutual benefit on an equal basis, ensuring the long-term independent development of both countries, and promoting high-quality development of Chinese-Russian economic and trade cooperation."²

In 2026, the heads of China and Russia reiterated that bilateral trade and economic cooperation has demonstrated steady growth over many years and has steadily improved the living standards of the peoples of both countries. In the coming period, plans are underway to deepen policy coordination, consolidate advantages in traditional areas of cooperation, identify promising niches in new sectors, and ensure improved quality and efficiency in both goods and services trade³.

The new development model proposed by General Secretary Xi Jinping, based on the dominant role of the domestic cycle and the mutual stimulation of the domestic and international cycles, profoundly reveals the dialectical relationship between independent development and opening up to the outside world, and between the domestic and international cycles⁴. Deep economic cooperation between China and Russia is an important practical step in improving the quality of international economic exchange, integrating domestic and foreign markets, and effectively utilizing resources of both categories. At the same time, it acts as a key external component in the implementation of the "dual circulation" strategy. This article uses the Marxist theory of the international division of labor and the theory of reproduction as its theoretical framework. On this basis, a system of economic cooperation is proposed, encompassing six strategic areas: energy as the foundation for ensuring a stable industrial base; transport connectivity as a factor in accelerating economic turnover; financial mechanisms as a tool for maintaining monetary stability and credit security; scientific and technical cooperation as a driver of productivity growth; agricultural cooperation as a prerequisite for strengthening food security; and digital economy

¹ Xi Jinping. Speech at the Meeting of the Heads of State of China and Russia [EB/OL].(2025-05-08).<http://www.news.cn/20250508/fba4bc596c7b442fa68ef87c6c0ad394/c.html>.

² The President of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation. Joint Statement by the President of the People's Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030 [EB/OL].(2023-03-22). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjlb_673085/zzjg_673183/xws_674681/xgxw_674683/202303/t20230322_11046176.shtml

³ People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. Joint Statement of the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation on Further Strengthening Comprehensive Strategic Interaction and Deepening Good-Neighborly and Friendly Cooperation Relations [EB/OL].(2026-05-21).

⁴ Xi Jinping. Accelerating the Formation of a New Development Model and Ensuring the Strategic Initiative in Future Development [J/OL]. Qiushi. 2021(8). http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2021-04/15/c_1127322214124424.htm.

as an environment for the development of new production and exchange relations. Within this framework, the article details key cooperation projects, their practical implementation mechanisms, and a risk prevention system.

II. Six Strategic Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation

According to the Marxist theory of social reproduction, aggregate social production comprises two main divisions: the production of means of production and the production of consumer goods. Energy, transportation, and finance are among the basic conditions of circulation and production that ensure the functioning of the reproduction process. Science and technology are key drivers of the transformation of productive forces. Agriculture is linked to providing the population with consumer goods and basic means of subsistence. Digital economy represents the concentrated expression of a new form of productive forces. Given the differences in resource endowments and comparative advantages of the two countries, the current priority should be the advancement of six strategic key projects that will lay the foundation for a multifaceted, multi-level, and comprehensive model of cooperation.

First, deep interaction across the entire energy production chain serves as a “foundation of stability”, ensuring the sustainability of regional economic activity. In modern social reproduction, energy is the most important means of production, and energy security is a primary prerequisite for national economic security. General Secretary Xi Jinping has repeatedly emphasized that energy security is a key element of national security, and therefore it is essential to guarantee a stable energy supply through supply diversification and long-term sustainability. Chinese-Russian cooperation across the entire energy value chain is a key measure to jointly strengthen energy security for both countries and achieve mutually beneficial outcomes¹. China and Russia have natural complementarities in energy. Russia has abundant oil and gas reserves, and significant potential in nuclear and renewable energy, while China has a large domestic market, developed manufacturing and processing capabilities, and capital advantages. In this regard, the parties should develop an integrated cooperation model across the entire energy value chain and create a stable and sustainable power supply system. “Particular attention must be paid to the creation of controlled, safe, and reliable production and supply chains, and efforts must be made to have at least one alternative source of supply and one alternative supply channel for key products as backup options” [Cheng, Zhang, 2021]. The 2030 Cooperation Plan explicitly states the need to “deepen comprehensive cooperation in the energy sector, ensure energy security, consistently develop cooperation in traditional energy, including the oil and gas sector, electric power, and nuclear energy, expand cooperation in green energy sources, including hydrogen energy, renewable energy, and the carbon market, and form an integrated value chain in the energy sector.”² The parties should prioritize the construction of the Power of Siberia 2 gas pipeline, achieving the plan’s goal of reaching annual natural gas supplies of approximately 50 billion cubic meters, and simultaneously develop cooperation in oil and gas exploration, processing, storage, and transportation, creating a closed-loop production chain covering all stages from production to supply. At

¹ Xi Jinping. Speech at the Meeting of the Heads of State of China and Russia [EB/OL].(2025-05-08). <http://www.news.cn/20250508/fba4bc596c7b442fa68ef87c6c0ad394/c.html>.

² The President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation. Joint Statement by the President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030 [EB/OL].(2023-03-22). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjlb_673085/zjzg_673183/xws_674681/xgxw_674683/202303/t20230322_11046176.shtml.

the same time, cooperation in nuclear energy, cross-border power transmission, hydrogen energy, and energy storage systems should be expanded to ensure that traditional energy security and the green transition complement each other. This will allow us to move beyond simple resource trade and toward the creation of an industry alliance encompassing all links of the value chain - production, distribution, and end-use.

Secondly, a cross-border, interconnected logistics system represents a “highway” for the transnational movement of production factors. Circulation is a crucial link in social reproduction, and efficient cross-border logistics channels serve as the physical foundation for the movement of production factors, goods, and capital between countries. The development of cross-border logistics infrastructure between China and Russia will reduce transportation costs, improve the efficiency of the international division of labor, and remove spatial restrictions on regional economic flows between the two countries. The 2030 Cooperation Plan identifies the creation of interconnected logistics infrastructure as a key focus. The document provides for “ensuring the uninterrupted movement of goods and passengers between the two countries using multimodal transport (rail, road, air, river, and sea), modernizing border crossing infrastructure, and enhancing the simplification of border crossing procedures.”¹ Specific steps include: first, the intelligent modernization of key border crossing points on the Russian-Chinese border, streamlining border and customs procedures, strengthening coordination between China-Europe railway routes and multimodal land-sea transport to develop a logistics corridor between Northeast China and the Russian Far East; second, the joint development of the Northern Sea Route, cooperation in shipping, icebreaker technology, and polar logistics, which will tap into the potential of this northern sea traffic artery. Regular shipping along the Northern Sea Route will transform the logistics landscape of maritime transport between Asia and Europe and significantly reduce dependence on the traditional route through the Suez Canal. The development of cross-border logistics infrastructure between China and Russia serves as an important platform for aligning the Belt and Road Initiative with the Eurasian Economic Union, fully consistent with the parties’ strategic consensus on the joint development of interconnected traffic arteries and the optimization of regional trade flows.

Third, the use of national currencies for mutual settlements and the integration of financial markets serve as a “stabilizer” for international economic activity. Money and finance serve as a means of commodity exchange and capital movement, and are also the central link in modern international economic relations. By maintaining control over international finance, high technology, resources and energy, and foreign markets, developed countries simultaneously offshore medium- and low-end manufacturing and export intellectual property. As a result, a unique “dual economic structure” is emerging between them and developing countries [Cheng, Xie, 2016]. Against the backdrop of external financial restrictions and imbalances in the global monetary system, the transition to settlements in national currencies and the integration of financial markets are crucial tools for China and Russia to reduce dependence on a single currency, protect financial sovereignty, and ensure the safe movement of capital. On the background of imbalances in the global monetary system and growing external financial

¹ The President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation. Joint Statement by the President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030 [EB/OL]. (2023-03-22). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjlb_673085/zzjg_673183/xws_674681/xgxw_674683/202303/t20230322_11046176.shtml.

restrictions, increasing settlements in national currencies is becoming a viable tool for both countries to maintain financial independence and prevent systemic risks, and serves as a practical implementation of their commitment to independent development. The 2030 Cooperation Plan sets the goal of “expanding the use of national currencies in bilateral trade, investment, and lending, deepening cooperation between the two countries’ financial institutions, improving cooperation mechanisms in combating money laundering, and enhancing the quality of cross-border financial services.”¹ Based on this, both countries should significantly increase the volume of direct settlements in yuan and rubles in trade transactions, direct investment, and lending, and create a system that facilitates cross-border payments, which will help minimize vulnerability to external financial sanctions. At the same time, it is necessary to develop cooperation between stock and insurance market participants, including rating agencies, update the bilateral investment agreement, and ensure the orderly flow of capital into real sectors of the economy: energy, infrastructure, and high-tech industries. Increasing the volume of settlements in national currencies and deeper integration of financial markets will allow the economies of the two countries to gradually transition away from passive dependence on the dollar system and strengthen financial sovereignty.

Fourth, cooperation in scientific and technological innovation and industrial chains is a “growth pole” for the iterative renewal of productive forces. General Secretary Xi Jinping emphasized that independence and self-sufficiency in science and technology are a strategic pillar of national development. Joint work between China and Russia on breakthrough technologies will allow both countries to overcome technological limitations and jointly achieve technological independence and self-sufficiency. According to Marxist political economy, technological progress is the key factor determining labor productivity. Building on their respective technological advantages and industrial potential, China and Russia should pursue joint scientific and technological development and industrial cooperation, which is a key tool for building an independent and controllable regional industrial chain. Consequently, “it is necessary to enhance scientific and technological self-sufficiency, master key technologies, and achieve breakthroughs in advanced and critical technological areas” [Cheng, Zhang, 2021]. The 2030 Cooperation Plan sets the goal of “deepening cooperation in scientific, technological, and industrial fields, focusing on joint research in aerospace technologies, new materials, and basic sciences, establishing mutually beneficial synergies in production capacities, and building sustainable regional production and supply chains.”² Specific measures include: first, establishing joint laboratories for research in cutting-edge areas such as artificial intelligence, biomedicine, and new materials, ensuring bilateral scientific personnel exchanges, and overcoming technological barriers; second, deepening the complementarity of production capacities in industries such as automobile manufacturing, mechanical engineering, electronics, and telecommunications, seamlessly linking China’s production potential with Russia’s resources and markets to form secure and stable regional production and supply chains.

¹ The President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation. Joint Statement by the President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030 [EB/OL].(2023-03-22). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjlb_673085/zzjg_673183/xws_674681/xgxw_674683/202303/t20230322_11046176.shtml.

² The President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation. Joint Statement by the President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030 [EB/OL].(2023-03-22). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjlb_673085/zzjg_673183/xws_674681/xgxw_674683/202303/t20230322_11046176.shtml.

Fifth, cooperation in agriculture and food security is the foundation for providing the population with vital resources. The General Secretary has repeatedly emphasized: “As long as there’s grain in the bin, there’s peace of mind.” Food security is paramount in governance and ensuring national stability. Deepening agricultural cooperation between China and Russia and establishing a mutual food security system will effectively mitigate the risks associated with global food market volatility and jointly ensure the basic needs of both countries’ populations¹. Agriculture directly provides the population with vital resources. Food security lies at the core of this process and directly impacts human well-being and social stability [Ding, 2025]. The global food market is controlled by a few large international grain companies, leading to high price volatility and posing a constant threat to food security in developing countries. Developing agricultural cooperation between China and Russia and establishing a bilateral food aid system will reduce dependence on the supply chains of global grain oligopolies and mitigate the risks associated with price volatility for vital resources in the process of social reproduction. In accordance with the provisions of 2030 Cooperation Plan on “deepening agricultural cooperation, expanding bilateral agricultural trade, optimizing phytosanitary and veterinary control procedures, and promoting cooperation in agricultural investment, crop production, and deep processing of agricultural products,” the parties should expand the export of Russian grain, meat, and seafood to China, while simultaneously facilitating the entry of Chinese fruits and vegetables, agricultural inputs, and agricultural technologies into the Russian market. In investments, it is necessary to stimulate the implementation of large-scale projects in crop production, livestock farming, and deep processing in the Russian Far East, and to develop cross-border agro-industrial clusters. Food security in China and Russia is gradually shifting from independent efforts to mutual support, creating a buffer zone against fluctuations in the global food market.

Sixth, cooperation in the digital economy and new areas is creating a “new impetus” for future development. The digital economy is the primary form of productive force for the new generation. New areas such as digital commerce, the green economy, and smart cities represent new trends for the development of global productive forces. For China and Russia, developing new growth areas for digital cooperation is an inevitable choice for achieving leadership positions in the future international division of labor and developing new competitive advantages.

The 2030 Cooperation Plan sets the goal of “expanding trade volumes, developing e-commerce and other innovative forms of cooperation, deepening collaboration in the digital economy and green sustainable development, and creating a favorable business climate.”² Based on these political guidelines, both countries are constantly exploring new formats and models of cooperation, providing sustainable impetus to bilateral economic relations. Specific measures include: first, improving cross-border warehousing, logistics, and customs facilitation mechanisms; establishing joint cross-border e-commerce demonstration zones between China and Russia; promoting the two-way flow of goods with unique characteristics; and activating small and medium-sized market players; second, deepening coordination of digital standards and cooperation in digital trade in services, as well as expanding collaboration in emerging areas such as green infrastruc-

¹ Xi Jinping. Speech at the Meeting of the Heads of State of China and Russia [EB/OL].(2025-05-08). <http://www.news.cn/20250508/fba4bc596c7b442fa68ef87c6c0ad394/c.html>.

² The President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation. Joint Statement by the President of the People’s Republic of China and the President of the Russian Federation on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030 [EB/OL].(2023-03-22). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/wjlb_673085/zzjg_673183/xws_674681/xgxw_674683/202303/t20230322_11046176.shtml.

ture, ecology and environmental protection, and smart cities. Mutual recognition of standards and joint rulemaking will enable both countries to strengthen their institutional positions in global digital trade and preserve space for the independent development of future productive forces. The development of digital economy, green economy, and other new forms of economic activity is a joint choice of the two countries to promote high-quality development of trade and economic cooperation and the establishment of new growth areas, and fully meets the requirements of the era of high-quality development.

Mechanisms for Practical Implementation and Key Areas for Ensuring Chinese-Russian Cooperation

General Secretary Xi Jinping noted that Chinese-Russian cooperation requires a targeted approach to implementing measures, raising the level of practical cooperation from a strategic perspective, improving institutional support, and creating a stable, fair, and predictable environment for the implementation of major projects.¹ Based on this requirement, both countries are establishing a three-tiered cooperation mechanism, within which heads of state provide strategic guidance, ministers support coordination, and enterprises ensure practical implementation. This is complemented by mechanisms for high-level interaction and the management of specific project lists, which facilitates the transformation of reached cooperation agreements into tangible results.

(1) Three-tiered mechanism of interaction and implementation

Practical implementation of economic cooperation and achievement of its results are impossible without comprehensive coordination of a multi-level governance system and effective implementation by market actors. Building on the established mechanisms of bilateral cooperation and the governance structures of China and Russia, we propose establishing a three-tiered interaction and implementation mechanism, where the heads of state provide strategic guidance, ministers support coordination, and enterprises ensure practical implementation. This will allow for the seamless integration of strategic planning, interdepartmental coordination, and local implementation, providing the smooth progress of six key projects.

The joint communiqué following the 30th regular meeting of the heads of government of China and Russia emphasizes that all practical forms of cooperation between the two countries are based on the consensus reached by the heads of state of the two countries. The parties intend to fully unlock the potential of Chinese-Russian relations, relying on the Commission for the Preparation of Regular Meetings between the Heads of Government and working groups in various areas, establishing a permanent coordination system, supporting the deepening of cooperation between the leading enterprises of the two countries, and creating various favorable conditions for the implementation of joint projects². Based on this, this article proposes a three-tiered implementation mechanism.

The first tier is strategic leadership determined by consensus among heads of state. At this level, key strategic areas of cooperation are defined. All six strategic cooperation projects must be

¹ Xi Jinping. Speech at the Meeting of the Heads of State of China and Russia [EB/OL].(2025-05-08). <http://www.news.cn/20250508/fba4bc596c7b442fa68ef87c6c0ad394/c.html>.

² Joint Communiqué of the 30th Regular Meeting of the Heads of Government of China and Russia [EB/OL].(2025-11-04). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/1179_674909/202511/t20251104_11746926.shtml.

included in the list of priority projects subject to oversight by the Commission for the Preparation of Regular Meetings between the Heads of Government of Russia and China. This is based on political consensus reached by the leaders of the two countries. Within the established deadlines, special documents such as the Five-Year Roadmap for Cooperation in the Full-Cycle Energy Chain and the Action Plan for Developing Cross-Border Infrastructure Connectivity are expected to be signed. Formal bilateral agreements will serve as the foundation for deepening the cooperation framework, providing political guidance and an institutional framework for project implementation.

The second tier is interdepartmental coordination at the ministerial level, creating specialized platforms for integrated management. Bilateral working groups are established on a sectoral basis to provide specialized coordination: in the energy sector, under the leadership of the relevant energy ministries of the two countries, together with national oil corporations; in the financial sector, under the overall coordination of the central banks of the two countries, together with export credit agencies. The introduction of regular quarterly videoconferences and semi-annual on-site audits will enable prompt resolution of issues related to policy coordination, regulatory compliance, and dispute resolution during project implementation.

The third tier is implementation at the enterprise level, stimulating the activity of market actors. An alliance of key Chinese and Russian enterprises is being shaped. Its initial membership includes 30 leading companies, including PetroChina, Gazprom, the Export-Import Bank of China, VTB, and others. A “green corridor” will be established for major joint projects, with priority treatment in three areas: customs clearance, visa procedures, and lending. This will reduce institutional transaction costs, improve project implementation efficiency, and fully utilize market mechanisms for resource allocation.

(2) High-level coordination issues and related support measures

To improve institutional support, it is now necessary to utilize high-level bilateral communication channels to facilitate practical solutions to key and complex issues. In accordance with the 2030 Cooperation Plan and agreements at the head-of-government level, three key coordination objectives have been identified. First, it is proposed to expedite the Russian side’s environmental assessment of the Power of Siberia 2 gas pipeline project. On the Chinese side, the State Pipeline Company is designated as the sole coordinating entity, ensuring the professionalization and standardization of project collaboration. Second, it is envisaged that the Russian Ministry of Agriculture will approve export permits for five Chinese poultry producers by the end of 2026. Third, it is proposed to sign an Agreement between China and Russia on Ensuring the Safety of Arctic Shipping, which will create a legal basis for the commercial use of the Northern Sea Route.

Furthermore, supporting documents should be prepared to strengthen the information and political foundation for cooperation: a Calculation Table for the Return on Investment in Key Russian-Chinese Energy Cooperation Projects should be developed to quantitatively assess the economic efficiency of projects; a collection of Recent Preferential Policies of Special Economic Zones in the Russian Far East should be prepared as a reference for Chinese investors; and a List of Technical Obstacles to Cross-Border Settlements in National Currencies should be prepared to consistently eliminate technical barriers to financial cooperation. According to the agreements reached at the head-of-government level, the Chinese Ministry of Commerce is tasked with lead-

ing the development of the List of Priority Projects for Chinese-Russian Cooperation and completing its bilateral approval by the next meeting of the heads of government. This will allow for the projects to be organized into clear lists and responsibility for their implementation to be allocated.

III. System for Forecasting and Preventing Cooperation Risks

Economic security is a key pillar of national security. General Secretary Xi Jinping emphasized that, given the growing complexity of the international situation and the escalation of interrelated risks and challenges, it is necessary to simultaneously address two strategic objectives: development and security. Chinese-Russian cross-border economic cooperation is fraught with various risks - geopolitical, market, technological risks, and others. Therefore, developing a comprehensive risk management system is becoming a prerequisite for balanced development and security, and for ensuring the stability and sustainability of cooperation in the long term¹.

First, changes in the international geopolitical landscape may create external obstacles to cross-border joint projects. The joint statement between the leaders of China and Russia, adopted in 2026, stated that both parties will resolutely defend their legitimate rights and interests, oppose any attempts to undermine bilateral cooperation, jointly address external risks and challenges, and ensure the security and resilience of production and supply chains². To this end, the parties should develop mechanisms for pre-screening cooperation participants and technologies, including the creation of a list of cooperation entities. In key projects - in energy, infrastructure, and innovation - priority should be given to proven third-party technologies and cooperation models, which will reduce the risks of geopolitical interference.

Secondly, cyclical fluctuations in commodity prices are common in international markets and directly impact the profitability and stability of joint projects in the energy and agricultural sectors. To minimize these risks, it is proposed to use a combination of long-term contracts and futures hedging to lock in returns, and to explore the possibility of establishing a joint Chinese-Russian stabilization fund to mitigate the impact of sharp fluctuations in commodity prices.

Third, differences in technical standards and certification systems in individual industries between the two countries may lead to increased institutional costs in industrial cooperation. The Joint Communiqué of the 30th Regular Meeting of the Heads of Government of China and Russia emphasizes the need to strengthen cooperation in advanced technologies and standardization, and to promote the alignment and mutual recognition of industry standards between the two countries³. Through joint efforts, it is planned to create a database of mutual recognition of industry standards between China and Russia, primarily ensuring the alignment and mutual recognition of standards in key areas such as oil and gas, electric power, and cross-border railways, which will eliminate technical and regulatory barriers.

¹ Xi Jinping. Speech at the Meeting of the Heads of State of China and Russia [EB/OL].(2025-05-08)[EB/OL].(2025-05-08). <http://www.news.cn/20250508/fba4bc596c7b442fa68ef87c6c0ad394/c.html>.

² People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. Joint Statement of the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation on Further Strengthening Comprehensive Strategic Interaction and Deepening Good-Neighborly and Friendly Cooperation Relations [EB/OL].(2026-05-21). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/gjhdq_676201/gj_676203/oz_678770/1206_679110/1207_679122/202605/t20260521_11914932.shtml.

³ Joint Communiqué of the 30th Regular Meeting of the Heads of Government of China and Russia [EB/OL].(2025-11-04). https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/1179_674909/202511/t20251104_11746926.shtml.

IV. Conclusion

Profound practical cooperation between China and Russia in the economic domain is an objective consequence of the internationalization of productive forces, the deepening international division of labor, and the expansion of global market. Drawing on the advantages of complementarity in production factors, the two parties are building a framework for coordinated development in six key areas: energy, logistics, finance, scientific and technological innovation, agriculture, and digital economy. The Joint Statement on the Development Plan for Key Areas of Chinese-Russian Economic Cooperation through 2030 establishes the framework for long-term cooperation, while joint communiqués following regular meetings of the heads of government enable the consistent translation of the agreements reached into specific projects and institutional mechanisms. A three-tiered cooperation mechanism where the heads of state provide strategic guidance, ministers support coordination, and enterprises ensure practical implementation, combined with a specialized risk management system and high-level support measures, creates a solid institutional foundation for sustainable and long-term development of cooperation.

Comprehensively supporting development and security is an important principle of foreign economic cooperation in the new era. Along with deepening practical cooperation, China and Russia are building comprehensive mechanisms to counter geopolitical, market, technological, and other risks, providing economic security at all stages of interaction. This is a concrete embodiment of the principle of “economic security as the foundation of national security.” Unilateralism and protectionism are currently impacting the global economic order. General Secretary Xi Jinping has proposed important concepts for advancing inclusive and universal economic globalization and building a community with a shared future for mankind, which serve as a guide for major power cooperation and global governance. Economic cooperation within the framework of the China-Russia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership of Coordination in the New Era not only helps both countries strengthen the foundations of development and achieve mutual benefit, but also serves as a practical example for improving global economic governance and supporting the coordinated development of emerging economies. Going forward, both parties will remain committed to the fundamental principles of equality, mutual benefit, and shared success, expanding the horizons and deepening the content of cooperation, consistently raising the level of bilateral economic cooperation and jointly contributing to global economic stability and prosperity.

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